∞ The most important family member may have a mantle of deer or nutria skins to keep him warm.

C M 175 291 "The men usually go about stark naked without a stitch on, although their skins are so tanned by the rough weather that they seem to be covered by animal hide or leather, particularly the old men, who are numerous, because the inclemencies of weather do not harm them, they having been used to such rigors since childhood. I saw in Santa Fé the head of a Mocobí Indian, who must have been about 40 years old, the skin of which was more than half a finger thick. The women go about entirely covered, from head to toe, in animal skins, and the principal women attire themselves in cloth made from a pliant plant larger than the agave, which in this province is called "chaguar" and grows wild. From it they make a thread similar to that used by cobblers, and then weave their clothes to which the daughters and wives of the more important men add some black and white ornamentation. From this same fibre they also make jars which, C M [445] cemented over with wax, can hold water pretty well and also the beverages with which they get drunk.

"All the women paint their faces, breasts and arms in the C M same manner as the moorish women of Africa and Spain, and those 302 175 of most consequence do this in intricate patterns which remain in [304] the skin permanently, for their mothers from the day they are born start to fix the dyes in their very flesh with the help of the large sharp bones of certain fish. They also use a dark blue dye, although not to such an extent, on their male children. In addition to this the mothers pluck the hair from the heads of their children of both sexes, leaving a completely bald swath three fingers wide running from the forehead to the crown of the head on which the hair never grows again. Thus do the Mocobíes, Tobas, Agoyas, Taymies and Aquilotes go about, both men and women, and the latter are extremely ugly as a consequence although, to their thinking, they are very beautiful. And in order that the women pull their hair out, the Devil is wont to appear to them in the form of an Indian woman who comes out of the nearest forest covered with a net and tells them that those who will not allow themselves to be plucked are not to eat fish, for should they do so, they will die. [577] So that if some C M woman, fearing the pain, resists having her hair pulled, she later [262] allows it so as to be able to eat fish which is their favorite food. Others of these Indian nations do not make these pathlike inroads in

415 323 "The best pieces of equipment of which they can boast are some small vessels of "palo santo" [lignum vital—a kind of wood--Translator] and a few small clay pots with very narrow mouths and two little handles which serve them as water flasks on their frequent raiding forays."

302 "Men and women alike shave their heads completely. They use, for that purpose, the sharp jaw of a certain fish, and their own teeth serve them to pare their nails. They cover themselves as best 291 286 they are able from their waists to their knees. The men, on gala 415 occasions, often wear a sort of sleeveless jacket and hang a kind of [276] bag from one shoulder in which they keep a crude wooden pipe, fire making equipment and other nicknacks. Both the bag and the coat are knitted, made from agave or chaguar fiber, and curiously marked. 302 They pull out their beards, eyelashes and eyebrows, and either to improve their looks or in order to appear more terrible in battle, they blacken their faces and chests with coal dust."

262 "Their favorite food is fish, and lacking this, all kinds of wild fruits or roots other than the poisonous ones. Their principal vegetable food, on which they can count for a quarter of each year and which they store to some small extent, is the fruit of the algarrobo, chañar and mistol. They also eat, and that without repugnance, lizards, locusts, crickets [593], mice, and even eggs after they have been abandoned, together with other filth. They eat fish and any other kind of meat [252] or roots, roasted or boiled, and know of no other way of preparing food. [261] They can withstand hunger admirably, and when they are unable to get other food they spend their time lying about chewing some herb or leaf from the forest."

273 579 "From the algarroba [pod which grows on the algarrobo tree--Translator] they make a beverage which is extremely delicious to their taste and which intoxicates them and makes them very fierce. Their drunken parties almost always end in a fierce fight which would have dire results were it not that the women, who never drink of that liquor, are careful to hide the arrows and all other offensive weapons and to hold back and separate those engaged in fighting."

533 222 "When the algarroba starts to turn yellow, they place in a central place among the huts, the pimpin, which is a log, concave at its upper end, covered with a piece of hide. A drummer with a belt about

291 or netting, which reaches down to their knees or a little less. Some men of more sophisticated taste sometimes put on a sort of waistcoat, hand woven from garavata fiber and painted. Of the same material
● [415] and made in the same way is the bag which they are in the habit of carrying at their side, in which, when they travel, they keep their flint and steel or the fiber and wax for their arrows and other small things which they use. When at home, at least at nighttime, they wear no clothes—possibly to keep from damaging them."

"There is no use looking for chiefs or captains with any
622 621 authority, for among them there are neither any who give orders nor any who obey them—they only have friendly respect for, and sometimes follow the advice of, someone among them who enjoys a certain prestige or who is very likeable. In time of war or common danger, some make limited alliances between a few huts only, for sake of unity." [602]

"They marry without any visible ceremony and without
582 formalities of any sort; nor do the parents play a role in the matrimony of their children, who marry when they wish to and to whom they wish—the women always give preference to a man who is adept at fishing, and the men seek out those women who are active and diligent in their search for fruit. Once a man and a woman have come
585 591 to an understanding they go off together into the forests for a few days, doing whatever they see fit to do, and return then to the encampment where they either set up for themselves or go to live with the woman's
595 parents-in-law. Few indeed are those who have more than one wife, even though divorce, among the younger set, is frequent. Adultery
837 684 also appears to be rare; the women do not consent to others having affairs with their husbands, on the contrary, they go to their houses and insult, threaten and fight them, a thing which often proves highly amusing to the men, women and children of the same camp, all of whom come out of their abodes to see the gestures and grimaces which the two women perform for each other's benefit, laughing uproariously and applauding noisily and gleefully the name calling and cursing, blows and kicks which they meet out to each other rather disgracefully.

774 "It would be useless to look for religious beliefs amongst a people so miserable, not to say stupid. It seems, nevertheless, that they do have some idea of the soul, which they call neusec, but about whose
776 ultimate destiny they have no clear idea. They also have a jumbled

table, or a guinea pig, which are excellent tidbits, though the lack of salt makes culinary success doubtful for one who has been used to it from the very baptismal font.

The Indians like a white person to be free and easy with them and to appreciate their things. So it was that I, when I was in their camps, after having gained their confidence, would go about here and there tasting their food, and they would be beside themselves with laughter while I repeated "hiss," "hiss," which means "good," "good." Of course one must eat with the fork which nature has supplied, with the exception of soup which is drunk with the shell of a clam which is very abundant in the surrounding lakes. Where I did almost jeopardize my reputation was once when I had to drink from a vile gourd with a really filthy lip. But I closed my eyes and a few moments later opened them covered with glory, and triumphant.

On that occasion, upon taking our leave, the Indians indicated that they wished to see us fire our rifles and we, to please them, fired two or three times into the air. It was something to hear the yelling of those women, and to see the tumult of boys struggling to pick up the shells. How similar is man in all stages of civilization and age.

I was forgetting to say that the width of the huts is hardly ever greater than the length of a bed,

Chapter IV

The Indian Women

Let us now for a while take up the matter of the Indian women. The Mataco women are generally rather short, but this does not keep them from being, on occasion, quite charming and well formed while they are young [179]. While living among them it is not unusual to see them naked, but in the presence of strangers they never lack a more or less protective fig leaf. On board our ship we had, for a good many days, a man and his wife. The latter wore a pair of shorts such as those we wear when we go bathing, and as she was young and well built and good looking, I can give assurance that the situation was of somewhat questionable benefit to some of our argonauts, forced anchorites as they were.

M 192 463 indicates "possession" or "deposit"; güu indicates "make," "maker"; kiá is "means," that is that which is used to procure something; for example: "fish" is yacq-set; "fisherman," yacq-set-quiá; "arrow" is lúték; "arrow maker" lutek-guú; "arrow owner," lutek-ʾhi. By virtue of this same particle, the first time they saw a trunk and a bird cage they called them, and still call them, imai-hi, that is, "clothes keeper"; huen-tié-hi, that is, "bird keeper."

M 286 One of the more advanced industries is that of weaving for which, as I have already reported, they do not use a shuttle but a broad piece of wood about a hand's breadth long with which they press the wool by hand. Another industry is the making of nets which are often as long as fifteen or twenty meters. Of all their belongings, however, nothing is superior to their bags, which are elegant and made to be very elastic. According to their contents these bags can stretch to an extraordinary size without the mesh's opening too widely and thus allowing the objects to fall out. They habitually decorate them with patterns, mostly geometrical ones such as parallel lines, triangles and squares.

M [415] M [537]

M 346 The canoe making craft deserves special mention. They are made from a single trunk of the large and corklike yuchan tree which they hollow out roughly and then launch.

M 412 The tools which those savages use are the shells of a kind of large oyster or clam which abounds in the Chaco lakes. They also use jaguar teeth, hard wood, and the jaws of fish such as the palometa, with which they shave their heads and the little hair which grows on their faces.

M 323 [214] Not only are they not ignorant of the ceramic art, but it is in this one art that they most closely approach us in quality.

C M 313 171 Cooking must have contributed much to the discoveries of this industry, but Indian piety regarding the dead is what has determined the major advances and relative progress in the art. It is precisely the Matacos, Tobas, Chunupis and others who do not bury their dead in ceramic vessels who have only rough, unpolished cooking pots, while the Indians who live in Santiago, and the Chiriguanos of Bolivia, although they do have small imperfect jars, have others which are very carefully polished, painted and decorated with small raised nubs, in the largest and most beautiful of which they deposit their dead.

Those pots which are used to contain water have an indented waistline around which a rope may be passed when they need to be transported. This rope, running around the jar, is slipped over the carrier's forehead and the vessel is carried on his back, to which effect he must bend back and neck forward. This manner of transportation is no where near as graceful as that of carrying jars on the head as our country women do, and rather makes the Indian women look like beasts of burden -- however, it may well be a more hygienic way and is, in any case, more practical when traveling along half choked forest paths.

They have no knowledge of, and do not practice, agriculture; yet they do sometimes plant corn (which, as is well known, originated in America) and also pumpkins. When they think it is time to go and eat the crop, they harvest it. They do not grind the corn, but boil it and the pumpkins also while they are yet green -- a harvest, then, is gathered in piece meal and lasts quite a long time. In order to sow they make use of a hard wood spade in the form of a small oar, or a large spear head; the husband makes a hole in the earth, his squaw throws in the seed, covers it, and that is all. The seed is sown in a recently burned off, damp field, that is, one which has just been rained on.

The crop is owned communally by all, but they are nigardly with it concerning outsiders. While we were on the ship, most of our food having run out, we hungered for fresh provisions and vegetables, for we had been without them for more than three months. When the Indians made us a present of pumpkins and ears of corn we were more than delighted. These Indians were friendly, but later on their friendliness proved false for they killed our interpreter. The sailors managed to discover the location of the pumpkin patch and corn field and raided them by stealth. On the following day, when they returned to the cultivated plots they found that everything had been destroyed and not a single growing plant was left. We were never able to find even one of the Indians.

It seems, also, that the whites do not want the Indians to take up agriculture. I was told that the white settlers once [215] came upon a number of fields sown by friendly frontier Indians, and destroyed them so completely that the discouraged Indians had never again planted so much as a handbreadth of land. This action

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI12
Choroti SK6

We have already seen that the most appreciated of these drinks is algaroba beer, which by the Mataco and the Choroti is called *atäs*, by the Tobas again *maplyi*. The tree itself and its fruit is called *oáh* in the Mataco and the Choroti language, in the Toba language *map*. The sacred beer is prepared with the utmost care and with certain religious or magical ceremonies. At this preparation there appears a strict division of labour between men and women. Although the women are not allowed to drink of the beer, they seemingly perform the larger part of the work. They collect the fruit in the forest, carrying it home in their large caraguatá bags, and afterwards mash it in mortars. Some old women start to chew the fruit, mixing it well with saliva, whereupon they spit it out into a goat's hide, fixed in the ground by means of sticks in such a way that it forms a sort of vessel. The goat's hide is used by the Choroti and by the Argentine Mataco, whereas the Tobas and the Bolivian Mataco use a wooden trough for the purpose. Lastly, hot water is poured over the mashed fruit.

These preparations require nearly a whole day. The most essential thing still remains, namely the fermentation, and to effect this is a duty solely incumbent on the men, since women as a rule do not take part in conjurations. The fermentation is sacred, because it means the birth of the good spirit. Now this happens in the night, but night is the time when evil spirits move about. According to the belief of the Indians, the invisible persecutors appear in great numbers in order to prevent the birth of the good spirit and interfere with the drink so that it cannot ferment and is entirely spoiled. Therefore special precautions must be taken for the critical time. The brewing of the algaroba beer for the great festivals during the algaroba season is — especially among the primitive Choroti — a matter that concerns the whole community. Hence, at the approach of night, the men arrive from all houses with their rattle gourds, sit round the hide or trough, and begin to chant a noisy, monotonous song without words, shaking the rattles in the rhythm of their chant. This ceremony is called by the Choroti *nissammaka oáh*, by the Tobas *niapálák map*, and its most conspicuous object is to prevent the spirits from spoiling the beer. Since the new moon is believed to promote fermentation, a moonlight night is preferably chosen for the ceremony. The chant is typical of the Indian conjurations in the Chaco. It is always begun in a loud voice; then the voice gradually dies down, so that the last tones are only heard as a low and distant muttering. Thereupon they start again from the beginning, and so forth. In addi-

5: Fock E-5 (1962) 1963 SI7 Mataco SI7

291
301
302
516

Fig. 1.—Ready and eager for love this Mataco girl carries the red woollen string with bead-tassels on her back. Phot. Fock.

582
583
836

son-in-law will be awakened by the girl's father and be given orders to go out and fish or hunt. Should he be unfortunate and return empty-handed, he can count on being sent home to his parents the same afternoon, and the connexion is broken. If, on the other hand, the young man has any luck he is allowed to continue with the girl for the time being. A day or so later he will take her out with him to search for food. He will, for example hunt and look for honey, and she will collect *cowgwuti* leaves. They go a long way, and she tries to fill the *yics*,

[222]
[415]

5: Fock E-5 (1962) 1963 SI7 Mataco SI7

582 583 836 [415] [482] the carrying-net, as much as possible. On the way home he will not assist her to place the *yica* in position. She must seat herself in order to place the band round her forehead and then rise unaided. They then proceed homewards. If the girl has been unable to adjust the yica or to carry it home in one stretch, the man will leave her the same afternoon. A strong and industrious man is not suited to a lazy wife, and vice versa.

581 584 It was definitely maintained that even a strong passion was not sufficient to keep a pair together. Even though the initial choice—made by the girl—was primarily based on affection, the second choice—in which both parties and their parents participate—is the decisive one, and this is based on a number of sensible considerations of an economic and social nature. Here it is particularly the girl's father who plays the decisive part, but as a rule he allows his view to be signified to the daughter through the mother. The girl can flout her parents' advice and marry as she likes, but this type of marriage is not regarded as durable. Normally she follows the advice, and there were times when a father requested a young man to abstain from visiting his daughter. The motives responsible for this appear primarily to be of an economic character. The girl's parents desire [541] an able fisher and hunter as their son-in-law for—with the prevalent matrilocality—they will be very dependent upon a son-in-law's ability to provide.

581 In earlier days bravery in war was considered to be an equally important factor, but this is no longer the case as the need for it has disappeared. On the [577] other hand the girl's father considers it important that the son-in-law should [684] possess a balanced temperament. Irascibility is deemed to be a great vice, in Mataco eyes perhaps the greatest, and, leads for example, in cases of infidelity straight to homicide and blood feuds between the families. In addition it was 582 considered a bad thing to marry into your own band. It was never explained as a ban or incest, but rather as a foolish disposition, because one lost the advantage of having another band, *wikyl*, to rely upon in case of controversial questions. This natural need for strength has caused the Mataco to prefer band-exogamy, and, for example, in the village Yuto on the Rio Pilcomayo, 81 out 88 controlled marriages were exogamous. This system is also considered advantageous by the young men, for even though they stood alone as a stranger in the daily life of their wife's family, they realized that both they and their children might stand in need of aid from another, powerful band. Much suggests that the Mataco 621 bands were formally more locally bound, so that a village consisted in principle 118 of one or two bands plus foreign males-in-law, and one still often sees strangers, [584] young men and girls, come to a village dancing-place in order to seek a sweetheart. Nowadays, however, it is quite easy to find a suitable partner within one's own village because many different bands are now represented there. This mixing is particularly due to the general dispersal of local groups that took place during the Chaco war of the thirties, and a later coming together under the care of the British evangelical mission in accordance with quite different principles. Formerly

Plate IX

755
756
291
292

[415]

A. Dance around a sick woman.

B. Dance around a sick woman.

[End Plate 2]

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6 Mataco SI7

C 322 [372]

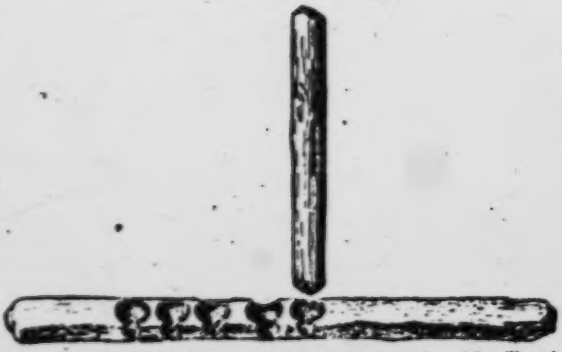

Fig. 148. Fire-drilling implement, consisting of two wooden sticks. Choroti. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 193.

For scraping and polishing wooden objects, pieces of mussel-shell are used. Formerly, when the Choroti could not obtain iron, all woodwork was produced exclusively by means of fire and mussel-shells. In shaping a piece of wood, the parts that were to come away were burnt in the fire, and the charred parts then scraped off with a sharp-edged piece of mussel-shell.

Nordenskiöld mentions that the Choroti, in the same way as other Chaco tribes, use saws made of hard wood with which they, among other things, saw off the stem and leaves of the, to the Indians so important, caraguatá plant,[1] after having grubbed it up with a fork-like digging stick.

C [412]

Fig. 149. Stems of a liana (Asclepiadaceæ), which forms the material of which fire-drilling implements of the Choroti generally are made. Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 196.

C [412 321]

Awls for working purposes are made of bone (fig. 147). Bone awls are also used for tattooing (see p. 75, 78), magical blood-letting (see pp. 63 and 64), and as weapons of offence (see p. 101).

C 372 [415 237] M 372 415 237

Like other Chaco tribes, the Choroti produce fire by drilling. Their fire-kindling implement consists of two round-sectioned, dry sticks of wood (fig 148), usually obtained from a species of liana (of the Asclepiadaceæ), fig. 149. One stick (the female one), which is thicker, and usually longer, than the other one (the male stick), has one or more bowl-shaped indentations, at

Fig. 150. Tail of armadillo, used as a tinder box, Mataco. Gran Chaco. Argentina. Exactly similar tinder boxes are used by the Choroti. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 573.

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 63 and 66, also (18), pp. 110 and 111.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti
Ashluslay SK5
Matnco SI 7

A
M
415

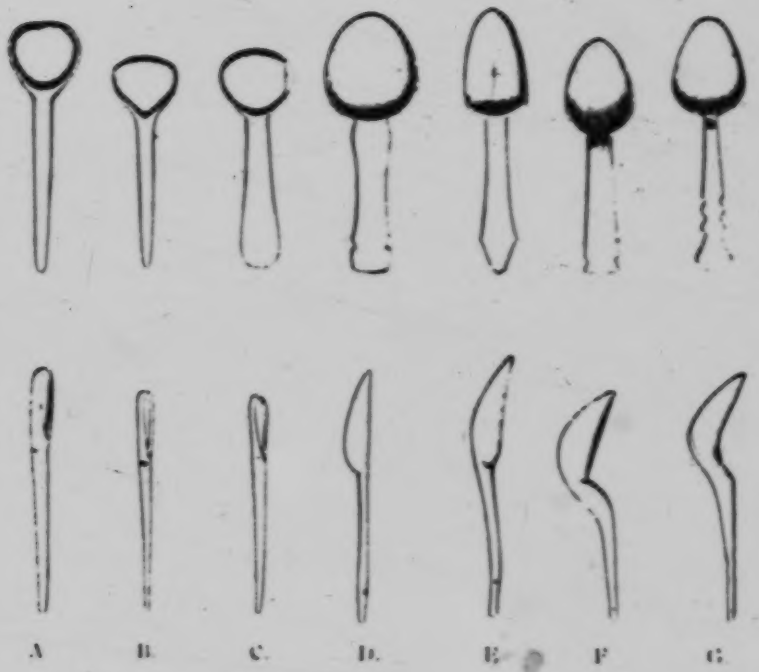

Fig 24.

A.	Wooden spoon.		Ashluslay	R. M. A.	415	4
B.	"	"	"	"	"	412 "
C.	"	"	"	G. M. C.	180	"
D.	"	"	Tajdete	R. M L.I.	0.	"
E.	"	"	Mataco	" M.	382	"
F.	"	"	Chané	" P.	07	"
G.	"	"	Mataco	" M.	1061	"